

## Message Text

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TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 027514

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: DRAFT STATEMENT FOR FEBRUARY 7 NAC

REFS: (A) GENEVA 610; (B) STATE 34119

GENEVA FOR US CSCE DEL/NATO HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

1. WE AGREE WITH DESIRE OF DELEGATION TO ADDRESS GENERAL SITUATION RATHER THAN LAUNCHING INTO DETAILED APPROACH TO CSCE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AT FEBRUARY 7 NAC MEETING. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE DRAFT STATEMENT SHOULD BE MODIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

2. YOU SHOULD DELETE PARAGRAPHS 3 AND 4 ALTOGETHER.

3. IN LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 9, REPLACE PHRASE "ONE OR TWO SPECIFIC" WITH "A FEW KEY."

4. WE RECOMMEND YOU DRAW ON FOLLOWING COMMENTS RE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION (CURRENT PARA 10):

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"WITH REGARD TO THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION, WE ARE SATISFIED WITH THE OVERALL PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS SINCE OUR LAST MEETING WITH THE COUNCIL IN DECEMBER. NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED ON THE

EIGHTH PRINCIPLE, SELF-DETERMINATION, THOUGH SOVIET-ROMANIAN DIFFERENCES STILL PREVENT ITS PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION. INTENSIVE DRAFTING EFFORTS HAVE ALSO BEGUN TO SHOW INITIAL RESULTS ON SOME PASSAGES OF THE NINTH PRINCIPLE. WE BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE FIRST READING ON MOST REMAINING SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS RELATING TO ALL TEN PRINCIPLES BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS."

5. IN YOUR PREPARED STATEMENT, YOU SHOULD AVOID SPECIFIC MENTION OF THE "PEACEFUL CHANGE" ISSUE. HOWEVER, IF ASKED RPT IF ASKED BY ALLIES ABOUT US VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT, YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT YOU UNDERSTAND INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS ARE TAKING PLACE BETWEEN US AND SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES ON THE PEACEFUL CHANGE QUESTION BUT YOU HAVE NO DETAILS CONCERNING HOW THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE PROCEEDING. YOU MAY ALSO INDICATE THAT, ON THE BASIS OF THE REPORTS OTHER ALLIES HAVE RECEIVED CONCERNING DISCUSSIONS AMONG THE NINE ON THE PEACEFUL CHANGE ISSUE, YOU WOULD WELCOME FURTHER ELABORATION, IF POSSIBLE, ON THE NINE'S VIEWS.

6. YOU SHOULD REPLACE PARA 11 ON CBMS WITH THE FOLLOWING:

"ON MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY, OUR GOAL SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE ATTAINMENT OF A MANEUVERS CBM INCORPORATING THE PARAMETERS WORKED OUT WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AND AGREED IN THE NAC LAST SEPTEMBER. OUR OPPOSITION TO A CBM COVERING MILITARY MOVEMENTS REMAINS UNCHANGED.

"WE HAVE NOTED CONCERNS EXPRESSED RECENTLY BY THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE NINE THAT LEAVING CBMS TO BE NEGOTIATED AT THE END OF STAGE II COULD UNDERMINE WESTERN OBJECTIVES IN THE MILITARY SECURITY FIELD. OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE DISCUSSION IN DUBLIN IS THAT THE NINE WISH EXPLICITLY TO HINGE COMPLETION OF THE FIRST READING

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OF PRINCIPLES TO PROGRESS ON CBMS. FRANKLY, THE US WOULD HAVE APPRECIATED A MORE DETAILED DISCUSSION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE ON THIS MATTER BEFORE BROACHING IT WITH THE SOVIETS, AS HAS NOW APPARENTLY BEEN DONE AT LEAST IN A GENERAL WAY. SPECIFICALLY, WE WOULD HAVE LIKED TO KNOW THE DETAILS OF THIS NEW POSITION ON THE PART OF THE NINE. A DEFINITION OF ACCEPTABLE PROGRESS ON CBMS IN ANY CASE WOULD SEEM TO BE A TOPIC REQUIRING CLOSE ALLIED CONSULTA-

TION, BEARING IN MIND THAT ALLIANCE POSITIONS -- ON T  
MOVEMENTS QUESTION, FOR EXAMPLE AND SUCH MATTERS AS

INDEPENDENT AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS -- ARE NOT YET FULLY  
FIRM. FOR NOW, WE BELIEVE IT IS PREFERABLE TO CONTINUE  
OUR PATIENT AND FIRM EFFORTS TO MOVE THE SOVIETS TOWARD  
ACCEPTABLE PARAMETERS ON THE MANEUVERS CBM, WHILE  
RESERVING MORE FORCEFUL APPROACHES UNTIL LATER IF MOSCOW  
MAINTAINS ITS TOTALLY NEGATIVE STANCE. THUS, WE DO NOT  
FAVOR A PUBLIC STATEMENT AT THE END OF THIS MEETING WHICH  
WOULD UNDERLINE ALLIED CONCERN ABOUT THE LACK OF PROGRESS  
ON CBMS OR NOTING THE NEED FOR "PARALLELISM" IN CSCE  
EFFORTS. AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME, WE WOULD BE PREPARED,  
HOWEVER, TO CONSIDER JOINING IN A CONSENSUS AMONG OUR  
ALLIES TO (A) APPROACH THE SOVIETS ON BEHALF OF THE  
ALLIES ON CBMS, OR (B) RAISE THE LACK OF PROGRESS ON  
MILITARY SECURITY ASPECTS OF THE CONFERENCE IN THE  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

7. PARA 12 SHOULD BE AMENDED TO READ (PER REF B) AS  
FOLLOWS:

"WE HAVE APPRECIATED THE UNDERSTANDING SHOWN IN THE NATO  
CAUCUS AT GENEVA FOR THE LEGAL PROBLEMS POSED FOR US BY  
CERTAIN SPECIFIC PHRASES IN THE TEXTS WHICH HAVE BEEN  
AGREED THUS FAR. IN DEFERENCE TO OBJECTIONS EXPRESSED  
BY A NUMBER OF ALLIES, I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE US WILL  
NOT RPT NOT AT THIS TIME PRESS FOR AN AGREED CONFERENCE  
STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE RESULTS ARE INTENDED  
TO BE BINDING POLITICALLY AND MORALLY, BUT NOT LEGALLY.  
WE MAY BE INTERESTED LATER IN PURSUING THE OTHER IDEAS  
WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED FOR THE FINAL ACT. HOWEVER, IN  
THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A BLANKET STATEMENT, IT WILL BECOME  
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HIGHLY IMPORTANT FOR US DURING THE REMAINDER OF THE  
CONFERENCE TO ENSURE THAT EACH TEXT IS CAREFULLY CON-  
SIDERED AS IT EVOLVES IN NEGOTIATION TO ENSURE THAT IT  
DOES NOT IMPLY A HIGHER LEVEL OF OBLIGATION THAN INTENDED.  
THOSE TEXTS WHICH DO IMPLY A COMMITMENT MAY HAVE TO BE  
TREATED AS SUCH BY THE UNITED STATES, IF THE RECORD DOES  
NOT PROVIDE EVIDENCE TO THE CONTRARY. WHILE NOT A  
PERFECT OUTCOME, IT WILL BE VIABLE FOR THE UNITED STATES  
AS LONG AS SUCH TEXTS ARE KEPT TO A MINIMUM AND ARE  
WITHIN THE POWERS OF THE US EXECUTIVE BRANCH. AS FOR  
BASKET 3 TEXTS ALREADY NEGOTIATED, THE FAMILY  
REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGES TEXTS CONTAIN LANGUAGE WHICH,  
IF TAKEN AS A LEGAL AGREEMENT, MIGHT BE CONSIDERED TO  
BE BEYOND THE COMPETENCE OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE IN OUR  
CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM. WE HAVE CONCLUDED, HOWEVER, THAT

THOSE TEXTS WILL NOT RPT NOT HAVE TO BE REOPENED, PROVIDED THE HUMAN CONTACTS PREAMBLE PRESENTLY UNDER

NEGOTIATION RETAINS LANGUAGE SUPPORTING THE INTERPRETATION THAT ALL THE HUMAN CONTACTS UNDERTAKINGS REPRESENT POLITICAL AND MORAL, RATHER THAN LEGAL, COMMITMENTS. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE SHOULD EVOLVE SO AS TO SUGGEST THAT LEGAL AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN CREATED, THE US WOULD HAVE TO RECONSIDER THE ADVISABILITY OF A UNILATERAL STATEMENT, AS SUGGESTED BY SEVERAL ALLIED DELEGATIONS, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE HUMAN CONTACTS PREAMBLE IS ONLY OF A MORALLY BINDING NATURE. WE WOULD, OF COURSE, CONSULT FULLY WITH OUR ALLIES AS TO WORDING, TIMING, ETC., BEFORE ISSUING SUCH A UNILATERAL STATEMENT.

8. PARA 13 ON THE MEDITERRANEAN SHOULD BE CHANGED TO READ:

"WITH REGARD TO THE MEDITERRANEAN ASPECTS OF CSCE, WE FOUND OUR CONSULTATIONS IN THE NATO CAUCUS AT GENEVA MOST USEFUL. WE REMAIN CONCERNED OVER EFFORTS PRIMARILY BY MALTA, HOWEVER, WHICH WOULD EXCEED THE HELSINKI MANDATES BY DIVERTING THE CONFERENCE FROM ITS PROPER FOCUS ON EUROPE TO A BELABORED CONSIDERATION OF THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES IN CSCE  
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DOCUMENTS -- AND POSSIBLY IN ARRANGEMENTS FOR STAGE III AND FOLLOW-UP AS WELL. WE FACE A CHOICE -- TO STAND ASIDE IN THE HOPE THAT THE EAST MAY BLOCK MALTA'S MORE EXTREME PROPOSALS ON MEDITERRANEAN QUESTIONS, OR TO COORDINATE ALLIED POSITIONS IN ORDER TO OPPOSE MALTA'S FAR-REACHING SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE NON-EUROPEAN LITTORAL STATES AND IRAN. IN THIS SITUATION, WE SUGGEST THAT THE ALLIES MIGHT EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF TRADING SUPPORT FOR MALTA'S RECENT OFFER TO SERVE AS HOST OF A MEDITERRANEAN REGIONAL ANTI-POLLUTION CENTER FOR MALTESE COMMITMENTS TO ATTENUATE THEIR CSCE ACTIVITIES IN BEHALF OF THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES. THE MALTESE PAPER ON THIS SUBJECT IS PRESENTLY UNDER STUDY IN WASHINGTON."

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